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From the New York World
THE GLUTTON

LIMITING ARMAMENT AND WARRIORS

DISCUSSION of the desirability and feasibility of limiting national expenditures for war has not abated during the past month. Nor will it die down until remedial action of some kind modifies the popular demand on governments for independent or for concerted action. Such a decision would come sooner and with more sincerity did heads of State not suffer from fears due to complications in statecraft that in turn are caused by economic conditions, practical and theoretical, conditions unknown to any previous generation. If the weight of indebtedness and taxation due to the World War is unprecedented, so also is the post-war challenge to present political and social order by the masses on all continents and in all lands. Consequently executives, who are more fully informed than the people are as to the range and intensity of this campaign against the "established order," are slower to fall in with talk of reduction of armies and navies than the electors who put them in power. No more conspicuous instance of this can be found at the present time than in the attitude of the President of the United States. Congress, responsive to a popular demand and busy about substantial reduction of national expenditures, has been tending toward deciding on an army of not more than 175,000 and not less than 150,000 men. The President, in a veto that has been overridden, has stood out for an army of 200,000 regulars.

British official opposition to popular demands for reduction of military costs has not gone so far as to balk a natural plea for special study of problems of naval policy ere more money is spent for past types of vessels; and of course the process of army demobilization has gone far. But no British Ministry, whether led by a Tory or a Liberal, will let the British armed forces be seriously weakened until the future of Soviet Russia is better known. France is in a similar mood; and in addition has ambitions of her own in central Europe and the Near East.

The plan for prompt international conference on limitation of armament by representatives of Great Britain, France, and the United States runs against the practical snag that ere the United States can act a President yet to be inaugurated and a Congress yet to be educated in dealing with concrete foreign problems must be in power. If intimations as to Mr. Harding's views that come from ordinarily reliable sources are correct, he may fall in with the plan for such a conference to be held in Washington. But it would be a conference with a wider range of representation than Senator Borah has championed.

Our confidence in projects for partial or complete disarmament would be greater if they were grounded oftener on ethical considerations. The plea for action too often is purely economic. "Rid us of this necessity of taking what we earn to meet the demands of the tax collector" is the common cry. While all the time there is the deeper, more fundamental need of hatred of war *per se* and of refusal longer to subordinate justice to might. However, since man will not, in these non-spiritual and unethical days, base his plans for pacification of the world on the deepest foundations, he has to be met where he is content to rest his faith, namely, on the pecuniary folly of war. And he is getting an abundance of evidence, God knows!

A CAPITAL OF GOOD WILL

PAUL CAMBON, Ambassador from France to Great Britain since 1898, has just retired after a record unusual in quality and quantity of service. Fully aware of the extent and intensity of recent differences of opinion between Great Britain and France that at times seem to indicate a parting of the ways, he nevertheless is confident that they will not drift very far apart. They certainly will not if his prescription for the somewhat distraught peoples of Europe, and especially those of Great Britain and France, is followed. He advises that "the two nations believe the best of each other, give each other the benefit of every doubt, suffer no individual shortcomings to blur the clearness of their conception that they need and supplement each other." Only by

the "understanding of the heart" can they or will they understand each other, in his opinion. "What they need to do," he says, "is to look upon the efforts and sacrifices they have made in common, the triumphs they have shared, the great deeds jointly done, as a huge invested capital of good will bearing compound interest." We like that phrase, "invested capital of good will bearing compound interest."

BERNARD SHAW, in the past, has not won fame by the frequency or the wisdom of his comments on matters of religion; but it is worth noting that in a recent public talk by him on the feasibility and desirability of such a socialistic commonwealth for England as Sidney and Beatrice Webb have defined, he has come out unreservedly in criticism of the scheme because it omits all plans for State recognition of or reliance on religion. He argues that there must be a State religion as a cultural institution, if for no other reason. He adds:

"You will never have a Socialist State until you take education in hand, and education must have a religious basis. All our vital and fundamental laws are religious at root, religion being the foundation of the essential duties. If you have people legislating without any religious foundation, you will get the sort of thing we have had from 1914 to 1920. When irreligious men control affairs the danger of war is greatly increased, especially now that the implements of war are so cheap. That is why Ireland is such a fearful danger to the British Empire. The only remedy for war is conscience, and you won't have conscience until you have religion carefully taught and inculcated."

A MANCHESTER GUARDIAN reviewer of "The Mirrors of Downing Street" says that one of the chief causes of the public discomforts and popular discontents of Great Britain at the present hour is "the almost total disappearance of high moral authority and moral eminence out of public life." Mr. Balfour's skepticism and Mr. George's opportunism do not satisfy John Bull.

THEY ARE debating a post-war problem of taste and sound ethics in Australia. Premier Hughes has been offered and has accepted a check for approximately \$125,000, given to him by admirers for his "distinguished and patriotic service" during the war. The offer was not surprising. Even his admirers, in many cases, have been shrugging their shoulders and raising their eyebrows over his acceptance. They think it to be a bad precedent, even if the lucre in his pocket never causes the Premier to be mindful of who his benefactors were. There is so much alleged "patriotism" that is purely commercial in its motive that it does seem un-

fortunate that a head of a State should be put in a position of seeming to be paid for doing a civic duty.

AMBASSADOR DAVIS has been lecturing publicly at the University College, London, on "The American Constitution." This service is needed. Readers of the life of John Fiske will recall the valuable service he rendered on his first visit to England by lecturing before the intellectual élite of London on phases of Anglo-American relations about which they frankly admitted their entire ignorance. Possibly in the future, which some persons foresee and already predict, when ambassadors and ministers of the old school will be relegated to the junkheap, national representatives to foreign "courts" will be chosen in part because of their fitness to do precisely what Ambassador Davis has been doing. But he had precedents. Lowell's famous Birmingham address on "Democracy," when he was our representative at the Court of St. James, is a case in point.

THE MODERN variants of the biblical ideal, that a day may be hoped for when instruments of war will be converted into tools of peace, are many. Not the least interesting and suggestive is the conversion of the inner walls of ancient Paris into material with which to construct homes for the people in the "devastated areas." Worth noting also is the decision to use some of the area where the old fortifications have stood for centuries as sites for model playgrounds, paid for with Junior Red Cross money and designed by American town-planners.

THE PRESS CONGRESS of the World, which was to have met in Sydney, Australia, this year, having been indefinitely postponed, the governments of Hawaii and the Philippine Islands have seized the opportunity to arrange for a similar conference to be held in Honolulu next October. From thence many of the delegates are expected to proceed to the Philippines. Forty countries have sent their representatives to previous assemblies of this body, and it is hoped that the same degree of interest will be shown in this projected gathering. The celerity of action and the scale of hospitality which the plan discloses show how alive the Pacific-bounded peoples are to the power of contemporary journalism.

CREDITABLE is the reported statement of Ronald Storrs, the governor of Jerusalem, to a person seeking a concession to build a tramway to Bethlehem and up the Mount of Olives. "You will do it over my dead body," the British administrator said. Since he talks Arabic, Hebrew, French, and Greek, it is safe to believe

that the rebuffed Jerusalemite understood precisely what was said to him.

THE EIGHTEENTH amendment to the National Constitution, technically considered, refers only to the United States. As a matter of fact, it has very marked international aspects of an educational sort. Germany, prior to the war, consumed about six million bottles of champagne annually; she is now using, or abusing, the effervescent drink at the rate of ten million bottles a year; and some of her scientists, economists, and ethical leaders do not like this evidence of surrender to appetite. Professor Gaupp, writing recently in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, has said: "A nation which in time of distress and impoverishment takes refuge in a narcotic like alcohol is ripe for destruction; a nation which, like the United States, in a period of flourishing prosperity, abolishes the narcotic will surely advance to a great future." "Pussyfoot" Johnson, just back from Great Britain, reports Lloyd-George as saying recently, that if the American experiment works well, Great Britain within ten years will be driven to the same social and legal restrictions, and for economic reasons. We do not read history solely in terms of "economic determinism," as is the wont of so many of our contemporaries; but it is useless to deny that the final "push" "over the top" of many a social change, long advocated on ethical grounds by idealists, finally comes from hard-headed business men or from realistic statesmen who see that what some men call "right" they must call "politic" in order to save their political or commercial "lives."

REFUSAL by the German Government of passports to German dye experts wishing to find employment in the war-created dye-making industries of the United States is a form of "protection" that rises from the plane of commodities to that of persons. There is considerable evidence available showing that the nations of Europe are quite willing at the present time to let their "undesirables" cross the Atlantic, and at the same time quite loath to let their educated and socially valuable citizens escape their social responsibilities at home in producing wealth and carrying the burdens of taxation. Nor is it strange that such should be the attitude of the governments. There is much to be said ethically for such a policy. To migrate from a country when it most needs you is hardly filial or magnanimous.

A MONUMENT for Bertha von Suttner seems about to be realized. A committee has been formed in Vienna for the purpose of erecting a monument in honor of the protagonist of the peace idea, who died six years

ago. The committee has just issued the following appeal (translation) to the public:

More than six years have passed since Bertha von Suttner closed her eyes. Her mortal remains were cremated in Gotha on June 25, 1914, where her ashes have been temporarily entombed. In an open square of the cemetery, selected by Chief Burgomaster Liebetrau and offered as a gift by the city of Gotha, in the center of an artistic monument the urn is to find its final resting place. The war has interrupted the preliminary work. War, to the abolition of which Bertha von Suttner devoted her life, has so far prevented her ashes finding their last resting place. Now the fulfilment of the duty incumbent upon the admirers of the Great German woman is not to be postponed any longer. Therefore the undersigned have come together to ask for contributions by public subscription to erect a worthy artistic monument for Bertha von Suttner in the cemetery of Gotha. We hope that these contributions may come in great numbers. Even the smallest gifts will be welcome. Payments are to be made to the Vienna Bank Verein Vienna I, Schottengasse, under the declaration: *Payment to the account of Suttner Monument Fund.*

THROUGH the advocacy of officials of the American Farm Bureau Federation the farmers of the Middle West are to place at Mr. Hoover's and the European Relief Council's disposal corn worth fifteen million dollars. The debate that brought on this action was not long, nor was it divisive. There seemed to be a willingness to be generous with a surplus that could not find an American market. The debater who won the hearts of the donors most surely was an Illinoisan, youthful, ardent, and still idealistic, who said: "Let us market our surplus in relief and take our pay in love."

PRIVILEGE for veterans of the World War, in the form of special right to public office, was a claim that was sure to be championed. The precedents established following the Civil War were bound to be cited, and they have been. To meet this "drive" for patronage, such as is found in the proposition now before the people of New York State, friends of a civil service based on merit must take the position just formally defined by the Civil Service Reform Association of New York, which says of the "drive":

"It is a menace because it seeks to create a privileged military class that shall enjoy for at least the next 40 years undue advantage over all other citizens in the civil service. It seeks to reverse the motto 'The best shall serve the State,' by imposing upon the administration of government a 70 per cent efficiency (the passing mark in a civil-service examination) in place of the highest standard attainable through competitive examination. This thing the legislature and the people of the State are being asked to do under a plea of patriotism. Where

is the pride and the glory of military service if it is to be rewarded in this way and at the expense of efficient government,"

This issue some day will face Congress, just as it now is confronting State legislatures. Solution of it will complicate the trend now on to base tenure not only on capacity to pass certain entrance examinations but more than ever before on "efficiency" of service; and opposition to any status other than that of ability will come from high business quarters.

THERE NEVER has been a post-war period when the poets were so insistent on driving home upon a suffering and impoverished world some of the lessons that statesmen decline to learn from combat, however beneficent its asserted object. Let any one read the poems of Siegfried Sassoon or Wilfrid Owen and he will find, as the *London Times* reviewer of Owen's latest volume of poems has found, that this seer is far readier to admit than Lloyd-George or Arthur Balfour are, that—

"war is brought about not by the last decisions and the dispatch of the ultimatum, but by those innumerable, imperceptible strivings for private advantage which, taken in their bulk, place rival nations at last in positions which they find mutually intolerable; and for the prevention of catastrophe, what we need most is some motive strong enough to act through all those intervening periods of seeming calm, when the course of events is deciding whether the crisis is to come or not. If we could possess ourselves permanently of the vision of that crime in which we are tempted to connive, our egotism might be checked and our more generous motives fortified."

THE DIPLOMATIC and consular service of the United States seems to be amply provided with military advisers. In the catalogue of its service, published by the Department of State and corrected to September 1, 1920, we discover that there are not less than 111 military officers assigned to our diplomatic service abroad. We have eight of these naval and military attachés in China, eleven in France, ten in Great Britain, five in Rome, nine at Tokio, six at Hungary, and so on. The only countries to which we have not accredited these military persons seems to be Costa Rica, Hayti, Luxemburg, Montenegro, and Morocco. One wonders why so many military and naval advisers are necessary to the conduct of our diplomatic service, and one might also inquire, further, if such minded men can be expected to promote most hopefully those policies best calculated to insure that friendship which diplomacy must establish if a rational peace is to be expected. Military men are for military purposes.

LAW FOR AN UNRULY WORLD *

By HON. ELIHU ROOT

There is an entirely new program to be laid out. The first thing is the saving of the economic data in all these countries, the rescue from destruction of the original documents, the original sources of history; so that in the future the history of this war may not be a mere matter of martial music and glorious achievements, but may be a true picture of what this war was and what it has cost, something which never before has been done for the people of the world, by rescuing the materials of history at the time.

In the field of international law, a great opportunity and a great task are before us. The so-called Covenant of the League of Nations mentioned international law in its preamble and cut it out in the text. There appeared to be throughout the world a general impression that international law had failed and that, because the world had proved to be unruly, law was not necessary. I need not argue that that was a mistaken opinion; that when the world proves to be unruly law becomes more necessary. The true remedy is the more perfect establishment and enforcement of law.

The only recognition in the Covenant of the importance of any law, or the establishment or the enforcement of law, was by inference from the provision that the Council of the League of Nations should prepare and submit a plan for a permanent court of international justice for submission to the members of the League. Under that provision the Council of the League invited a number of gentlemen from different countries to act as a commission or committee for the purpose of preparing that plan for them; and they were good enough to ask me to be a member of that committee. . . . The meeting of the committee was at The Hague. In fact, the original idea was that the meeting should be in London; but, after the committee was named and acceptances had been received, the Government of Holland sent an invitation to the committee to meet at The Hague, and that invitation was accepted. We had as representatives very well-known men who are interested in international law, who suffer, however, under the portentous appellation of international jurists. Nobody represented any country. The invitation was quite personal. It was a committee of experts, each one responsible only to himself.

The Plan for a World Court

We spent some six weeks in continuous labor, and finally we thrashed out and unanimously agreed upon a plan for a court. There were three difficult subjects before the committee. The first was the one on which the project for a court was wrecked at The Second Hague Peace Conference in 1907, and that was the way to constitute a court in the matter of the selection of judges.

There appeared in 1907 two quite distinct factions, one composed of the small powers, the other of the principal powers. The small powers, each jealous of its sovereignty, of its equal sovereign rights, demanded an

* From address of Mr. Root as president of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, December 7, 1920.